

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 197 853

PS 012 008

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TITLE Expressed Values of Lower Socioeconomic Status Black American Women.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Child Health and Human Development (NIH), Bethesda, Md.
PUB DATE Jun 80
GRANT NICHD-5-R01-HD08533
NOTE 49p.
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Attitude Measures: *Behavior Standards: Black Community: *Blacks: Comparative Analysis: *Females: Low Income Groups: Peer Groups: Self Concept: *Self Evaluation (Individuals): *Social Behavior: *Social Values
IDENTIFIERS Context Effect: Expressed Values Scale: *Reference Groups: Self Perception Inventory

ABSTRACT

The expressed individual and cultural values of two groups of urban, lower socioeconomic status black American women are contrasted, using a situational forced-choice Expressed Values scale developed especially for this purpose. Group 1 (n=67) at the time of the study was enrolled in a high school equivalency degree program at a junior college. Group 2 (n=65) had been enrolled for two years in an early intervention program for mothers of 18-to-24-month-old children. Groups were comparable in terms of age, current educational level and general experience with children. In general, results indicate that Group 1 subjects were as progressive in their personal preferences as they perceived any other Americans to be. They also perceived their friends, neighbors, and members of the black community to be more traditional in value preferences than themselves. Group 2 subjects, however, perceived their personal choices to be in greater harmony with those of friends and neighbors, as well as blacks in general. They believed the personal choices of other Americans would differ from those of their immediate friends and associates. Implications for studies of parental practices, attitudes and beliefs (in particular, the importance of contextual or situational factors in value formulations and expressions) are discussed. (Author/MP)

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Expressed Values of Lower Socioeconomic Status

Black American Women

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Abstract

The values of two groups of urban, lower socioeconomic status Black American women are contrasted, using a situational forced-choice Expressed Values scale especially developed for this purpose. Group 1 ($n=67$) was currently enrolled in a high school equivalency degree program at a junior college. Group 2 ($n=65$) had been enrolled for two years in an early intervention program for mothers of children initially ages 18-24 months. Groups were comparable on average age, current educational level, and general experience with children. Results indicate that the expressed values of the two groups differ in predictable ways. Data support theoretical notions of a wide value stretch in the black lower classes, of the importance of perceptions of the feminine role, family life, and occupational expectations in that stretch, and of traditionalism as a viable, but multidimensional, construct for characterization of differing value orientations. Implications for studies of parental practices, attitudes and beliefs are discussed, particularly the importance of contextual or situational factors in value formulations and expressions.

Expressed Values of Lower Socioeconomic Status
Black American Women

Introduction

While attitudes are specifically focused concepts, and beliefs are descriptive, existential propositions, values address issues fundamental to the human personality. Kluckhohn (1951) defined as a value a "conception, explicit or implicit, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action" (p. 395). He emphasized that values contain affective, cognitive, and conative elements. While values are considered primarily cultural products, each group value is also given a private, personal interpretation and meaning. Values, therefore, are held by individuals and by cultures and subcultures.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) incorporated this definition of value into their construct value orientation. The order and structure of values were determined by universal human problems which all cultures must solve. In fact, the culture represented the most desirable solution for individuals within a group, given the possible range of solutions. All alternatives are presented in every society at all times, but are differentially preferred. Every society has, in addition to its dominant profile of value orientations, numerous variant or substitute profiles.

Rokeach (1973) offered more of a psychological view of values and their relationship to the individual's functioning. A value was defined as an "enduring belief" that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse

mode of conduct or end-state. Values had cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. They served to maintain and enhance self-esteem by enabling a person to adjust to society, defending the ego against threat, and testing reality. As such values had an adjustment function, an ego-defensive function, and a knowledge or self-actualization function. Values were considered at the core of the individual's personality according to Rokeach.

This paper presents comparative and descriptive data on the expressed individual and cultural values of two different groups of lower socioeconomic status black American women. There have been many attributions of implicit and explicit value orientations to black women. However, there exist few empirical studies of their expressed values.

Lower status black American women are part of an American subculture which exists within both class and racial boundaries (Drake, 1945; Cox, 1948; Billingsley, 1968; Rainwater, 1970). Over time, this black subculture has evolved its own adaptive, constructive value orientations and life styles (Billingsley, 1968; Ladner, 1971; Hill, 1972; Schneider & Smith, 1973; Nobles, 1976). However, the aspirations of this subculture have been, in part, to remove the constraints and barriers associated with the upward mobility of its members (Clark, 1965; Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Franklin, 1967). The meaning of upward mobility is quite specific; it means access to better educational and occupational opportunities, and the capacity to secure tangible resources to provide better for oneself and one's family's perceived physical and personal-

social needs.

Two lines of research have addressed cultural values and social mobility as reflected through the expressed value orientations of members of the culture. The first line was developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, the second by Inkeles. Since each tradition had serious conceptual and methodological problems, we reformulated and integrated the two traditions to meet our needs.

The assimilationist position, developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, accounted for upward social mobility in terms of converging values between individuals of the majority culture and those of the minority subculture. Ethnic cultures which possess similar values and traits are more likely to function effectively in American society, and therefore, experience more rapid assimilation and advancement (Glaser & Moynihan, 1963; Gordon, 1964).

The modernization position, developed by Inkeles, considered individual change within the context of cultural change. As Getzels (1972) noted, American society has undergone shifting priorities for individual behaviors and personal styles over the past twenty years. The concept of psychological modernity (Lerner, 1958; Inkeles, 1966a, 1966b, 1969, 1971; Smith & Inkeles, 1966) emphasized the psychological adjustments and competencies required because of rapid modernization or industrialization of cultures.

Our study examined the value preferences of black women, using the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck (1961) value orientations as dimensional categories, but emphasizing both perceived individual and sociocultural perspectives for each rated dimension. We attempted to establish validation of an instrument we developed by testing specific hypotheses about how our two groups of women would respond to it, given differences in their immediate educational activities.

Thus, there were two aims of this study. The first aim was to contrast the assimilationist and modernization positions with respect to the relationship between cultural values and social mobility. We used a sample of participants from an American subculture which had experienced limited social mobility in this society, and who varied on dimensions of importance to modernization theory. Essentially, this theory posits that exposure to formal schooling and active participation in the industrial labor force is positively related to individual psychological modernity. We hypothesized that support for Inkeles' position would be found if:

(a) black women actively pursuing high school equivalency degrees were different in preferred self choices from other women of a similar class/race community, but similar in their views of the choices of black and other Americans; and

(b) the personal choices made by these women were perceived by them to be similar to choices made by other Americans. In comparison, their class/race peers would less often perceive their choices to be similar to the choices of other Americans.

On the other hand, support for the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck position would be found if:

(a) black women who actively pursued high school equivalency degrees were similar in personal choices to other women of a similar class/race community, similar in their views of the choices of black and other Americans; and

(b) these women, as well as their class/race peers, perceived the choices of other Americans to be different from their own. Dissimilarity was posited to be always in the direction of greater psychological modernity.

The second aim was to describe how the specifically expressed values cluster and discriminate among individuals in these two groups of women, given Kluckhohn's original value dimensions, and the teleological modernization position of Inkeles. No predictions were made for this exploratory phase of the research.

Method

Sample

The sample consisted of three groups of black women who lived in Chicago. The first group of respondents was a pilot group. The second and third groups comprised the main study sample.

The pilot group served as a criterion group in instrument development. We eliminated items which did not discriminate among pilot respondents. These respondents were 65 black females who were pursuing their high school equivalency degrees at a local community college. They averaged 25.0 ($SD=6.48$) years of age, had 10.8 ($SD=0.74$) years of formal education, and had lived in Chicago an average of 17.6 ($SD=8.28$) years. We chose this pilot group because they were actively pursuing the necessary educational skills to better their occupational prospects in the society.

The second group of women (Main Study Group 1) was obtained from the same setting as the original pilot group, six months later. It consisted of 67 different black female respondents who were pursuing their GED high school equivalency degrees.

The third group of women (Main Study Group 2) consisted of black females ($n=65$) with young children. These women had just completed a two-year participa-

tion in an early intervention program which focused on enhancing parent-child and family relationships. They had been recruited through a stratified random sampling procedure which spanned three lower income housing projects in the Chicago area. Each woman had agreed to participate in one of three program variants offered to her. The three variants were: Levenstein Toy Demonstration program, Discussion group program, or Control group (which received only toys for the children on a regular weekly basis). Most women in this group were not currently attending school or working. Table 1 presents background information on the two groups.

Insert Table 1 about here

Though some background information was not available for women in the first group, we have no reason to believe that they differed markedly from those who did respond to the specific background questions.

Employment was rated using a U. S. Census ranking of occupational prestige or status by service, rather than income. The primary distinction between the two groups was that women in the high school equivalency program were more likely to be engaged in semi-skilled or domestic service occupations, while those in the early intervention study were typically not working and receiving AFDC benefits to care for their children and manage their families.

Development of the Expressed Values Scale

We found that neither Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck nor Inkeles focused on intra-societal urban contrasts. They usually failed to include women in their researches and they rarely specifically addressed the role of prejudice and racial discrimination. Therefore, we chose to develop a new measure of expressed

values. The measure would incorporate: (a) an emphasis on the more familiar and traditionally adaptive styles within lower status black communities, as contrasted with styles which might be more characteristic of middle or upper-status communities; (b) an expansion of the original Kluckhohn (1961) dimensional categories to include Personal Control -- the perceptions of desired control and influence over social others; and (c) a greater opportunity for each respondent to locate her own personal position relative to her perceptions of the position of Black Americans and Other Americans. These modifications permitted us to explore, for each group, the dimensional categories and situations which were most discriminating of the pattern of absolute choices made in reference to Black Americans generally, and the self in particular.

Our review of the historical and sociological literature, as well as our discussions with our predominantly black research team, led us to posit that some value preferences would be more characteristic of the respondent who was currently actively pursuing educational mobility than others. The "modern" and "traditional" ends of the value continuum for each situation were thus defined.

Phase 1. Initially, 33 item situations were developed, using six dimensions (from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck value orientation paradigm) as guidelines. The guidelines are presented in Table 2. Six to seven item situations per dimension were generated. This relatively large pool of items was necessary because we wished to insure interindividual variability of response to five different probes per situation.

Previously uninformed staff read each item situation and classified them

Insert Table 2 about here

by dimension; two were thus eliminated.

Phase 2. The content of each item was closely critiqued for its appeal to urban black women by black female staff and investigators: ten items were eliminated in this process. Three new items focusing on children, child care, and achievement effort as thematic content were introduced and categorized by dimension. Emphasis was placed upon making each choice, A or B, within an item equally desirable. However, one choice was to be more "traditional" than the other, considering a continuum of modernity. For example, one item in the final twelve item scale emphasizes perceptions of Time as follows:

Two people on the street were talking about the main problem with life as people are living it now.

A. One person said: The trouble with life is that things just aren't what they used to be. People now can't live their lives as they have always lived them; there are too many changes, and people just can't cope with them. I'd like to turn back the clock.

B. The other person said: Well, what's past is past -- no use crying over spilled milk. I want my life in the future to change for the better; for the most part new ways of doing things are an improvement over old, out-moded ones. Might as well keep moving ahead.

In this instance, A is the traditional choice.

In the final instrument, respondents were asked to characterize the probable choices of Black Americans, Other Americans, their neighbors, friends, and their personal preference on this item. After a pilot administration respondents had informed us that our initial probes of "friends", "neighbors", and "self" were acceptable, but that "people" should be changed to "Black

American" and "Other Americans" so they would have an appropriate reference point.

Phase 3. Each value item was scored as either "0" or "1" with "1" indicating the more traditional choice.

Eight items were eliminated because they did not discriminate among individuals in the pilot criterion group. Six items on which there were exceptionally high or low numbers of traditional self choices (i.e. more than 50% or less than 10%) were eliminated. Two items were eliminated because respondents, as a group, made little distinction between themselves and any of the other social distance categories (i.e, friends, neighbors, or people in general). Four additional items were later eliminated. One such item, however, was retained as a "practice" item.

The final twelve item scale consists of item situations which were specifically chosen to (a) maximize differences between Black and Nonblack Americans, (b) insure that the preferences of blacks would be the more "traditional" choice, and (c) allow for within group individual variability in nominations of specific choices for the self.

In short, for this research we focused on only those situations in which our respondents perceived Blacks to differ from other Americans, regardless of where they personally located themselves. This, we constructed our final scale to emphasize possible sources of cultural differences in the direction of greater traditionalism among Blacks, by comparison to others, as perceived by our respondents. It would surely be possible to emphasize cultural similarities, or even modernity favoring Blacks, but this would not be consistent with the two previously described theoretical positions under consideration.

Procedures

The 24 item pilot instrument was verbally administered to the pilot respondents as a group in a moderate-sized lecture hall at the community college. Six months later the final 12 item instrument was verbally administered to Group 1 in this setting. Women in Group 2 were individually and verbally administered the scale following a 1 ½ hour interview. Instructions to all respondents were as follows:

Here are some situations that people could have different opinions about. I will read two different opinions, A and B, for each situation. After each situation, I'll ask you to tell which opinion you think would be held by: (1) most Black Americans, (2) most Americans, (3) most of your friends, (4) most of your neighbors, (5) yourself. In the case of yourself, choose the opinion which is most like your own, even if you don't agree with everything stated. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers; I only want your opinions. Here, for example, is the first situation

Probes (1) and (2) were "People in general" in the pilot study. The first situation was always a practice item that was not tallied in the final score.

After each situation, the respondent was asked which choice she perceived (a) most Black Americans, (b) most Other Americans, (c) most of her neighbors, and (d) friends would prefer. Then she was asked (e) her own choice, and to indicate (f) how strongly she felt about that choice, from "Very strongly" to "Not at all", on a five-point continuum.

The pilot group took, in addition to the value scale, the Loevinger scale of ego development (Loevinger, 1970) and the Inkeles OM-13 scale.

Background information on age, education, occupation, and number of years in Chicago was also obtained.

Group 1, due to time constraints, was not administered the Loewinger and OM-Scales. Instead, this group of respondents was asked to write a short sentence or two as to why they chose the response they did for themselves to each of the items. Background information, including prior experience with young children, was also obtained. Total administration time for the pilot group and Group 1 was approximately fifty minutes, but the value scale itself was given in twenty minutes.

Group 2 respondents were individually administered the Value scale in their homes. The verbal administration followed a one hour interview with them as to their current childrearing attitudes and practices.

Black females conducted all administrations. Women in the pilot group and in Group 1 were remunerated for their time. Those in Group 2 were not remunerated because they received personal services in the context of the ongoing intervention programs.

Results

In the pilot group, education, occupational level, and number of years in Chicago, were not significantly correlated with the self score on the Expressed Values scale. Neither respondent's age nor her score on the OM-13 scale were correlated with the self score. Only the Loewinger score was significantly and negatively correlated with our Expressed Value scale self score ($p < .05$). In short, Expressed values self scores were negatively correlated, as would be expected, with the Loewinger scale. Since our instrument and the Loewinger were initially designed for, and normed on, women, while the OM scales were not, our results with the OM Scale were not

especially surprising. Perhaps more importantly, the OM Scale makes inferences from reported behavioral referents, while both the Loevinger and our Expressed Values Scales require the respondents to directly make a personal statement or choice. A sample item, for example, from the OM Scale asks the respondent, "How often do you read a newspaper?", (a) Almost every day, (b) About once a week, and so forth. The greater the frequency noted, the greater the "psychological modernity".

Table 3 presents the interitem correlations with the total self score for each group. Group 1 is the group pursuing the high school equivalency degree, while group 2 is the group enrolled in early intervention programs. Nine correlations are significant at the .05 level or better for group 1; three are significant at .10 or better. However, only seven are significant for group 2. Two of the five items which are nonsignificant, interestingly, focus on job selection and performance, two on divorce and decision-making in the family, and one on perceptions of woman's role. The percentages of group 2 respondents obtaining traditional scores on these five items are:

Insert Table 3 about here

Item 3: 58.5; Item 7: 60.0; Item 8: 32.3; Item 10: 21.5; and Item 11: 43.1.

Women in group 2 more often than women in group 1 believe job success to be a function of the social acceptance and respect of others, rather than performance per se. They prefer to seek advice on personal marital matters inside, rather than outside, the family. Decisions are to be made by a single family member rather than by consensual agreement. They most often see themselves as struggling alone against odds, rather than as part of a

group confronting similar problems. But these expressed values appear not to be related to the overall traditionalism scores in group 2.

The Kuder-Richardson 20 reliability coefficient for group 1 is .54. Though moderate, it is not inconsistent with others reported in the literature. Cronbach (1960, p. 140) for example, reports that the Allport-Vernon Study of Values had coefficients of equivalence which ranged from .49 to .84 for six scores, using 48 subjects. However, the K-R 20 for group 2 was not significant, suggesting little internal consistency. Data suggested it would be highly inappropriate to treat the scale as unidimensional. Two procedures were, in view of this finding, indicated: content and cluster analyses. First, however, we will report results from using total scores on each of the probe categories. Table 4 presents this information.

Insert Table 4 about here

Both groups perceive Black Americans, neighbors, and friends as, on average, more traditional than themselves. Both perceive other Americans as less traditional than each of these groups. But group 1 perceives itself as more progressive than any of the other referents, while group 2 locates itself between other Americans and the other three groups. Group 1 and 2 self scores are significantly different ($t(130)=2.715$, $p < .01$) from one another. These data support the Inkeles' tradition: individuals who have greater exposure to modernizing institutions, whether by accident or choice, are more likely to be progressive in their expressed value orientations. However, both groups, like our pilot group, perceive Black Americans to be significantly more traditional on the assessed situations than other Americans. Group 2 respondents simply do not perceive as much social distance between themselves and other Black Americans as do group 1 respondents.

For group 1, age and education correlate .27 ($n=46$, $p<.07$) and .08 ($n=48$) respectively with total Expressed value scale self scores. The F-ratios for occupation and marital status are 0.8854 ($df=4$, 38) and 0.6741 ($df=3$, 47). Only experience with children reached significance. Those reporting the most experience with children ($n=34$) have the lower traditional self scores ($M=3.06$, $SD=1.613$), while those reporting inconsistent ($n=22$, $M=4.59$, $SD=2.218$) or average to no experience ($n=3$, $M=5.33$, $SD=1.528$) have higher scores.

For group 2, age and education correlate .20 ($n=64$) and .14 ($n=64$) with Value scale self scores. The correlation of self score with occupational status in reported previous work is .08 ($n=64$). No data were obtained on the marital status of this group. Number of children in the household correlates .14 ($n=64$) with self score. Descriptor variables, generally, are not significantly related to self scores in either group.

While no other personality measures were obtained from group 1, we did have other data on group 2 respondents ($n=65$) who had been assessed by personal interview at the end of the first and second years of the early intervention programs. We found that Expressed Value scores correlated significantly with only five of 25 assessed variables: the two black female interviewer's independent judgments as to the woman's degree of openness after the first and second year interviews, a measure of openness and flexibility as regard's reported childrearing practices obtained at the first interview, and a short, four-item measure of perceived personal control obtained at the second interview. These latter two variables were assessed both years, but no significant results were obtained in other years. The

Expressed Values self score also correlated significantly ($-.24, p < .05$) with a self-esteem rating, using only second year interview data. While these data are consistent with theoretical notions about the scale, they are not compelling indicators of construct validation.

More important as an indicator of criterion validity, is the finding that self scores on the scale vary directly and significantly with the three intervention treatment groups that comprise group 2 (Recall, those groups were the Levenstein Toy Demonstration, a Discussion group, or a Control group.). Table 5 presents these data. Discussion group mothers have significantly

Insert Table 5 about here

lower scores than controls ($F(3,65)=9.074, p < .001$).

In summary, results reported thus far support notions of criterion, but not construct, validity. The absolute level of the scores does distinguish between groups in predictable and interpretable ways, but clearly, the scale itself is not unidimensional.

Table 6 presents the results of comparative item analyses between groups. Thematic content, as well as dimension, are presented. Notably, all six dimensions are represented, though no deliberate effort was made to do so. There is no clear evidence that groups differ more on one dimension than another.

Insert Table 6 about here

Group 2 is significantly more traditional on every item but one (Item 8) by comparison to group 1, though importantly, the percentage of respondents selecting traditional choices for themselves varies from item to item. The range is from three to 42 percent for group 1, and 21.5 to 63.1 percent for group 2.

Content analyses of the reasons for preferred self choices, using group 1 data only, reveal that few contradictory reasons are offered.

Cluster analyses were performed to determine whether the two groups order the items differently; data indicate that they do. The response patterns of items cluster differently for group 1 and 2. This suggests that their values orientations are dissimilar. Not only is group 2 more traditional in its value orientations, but the priorities established are different. In effect, each group has its own preferred mode of interpreting and organizing presented experience.

Figure 1 presents the results of block cluster analyses on separate item self scores for both groups.¹

Insert Figure 1 about here

Group 1 respondents clustered items related to a traditional life style, followed by focus on woman's role and job considerations. Specific items related to children formed a second, early-appearing cluster. Group 2 respondents clustered items related to unemployment and family life stability first; focus on (a) job security, and traditional feminine and childhood roles, and (b) ways of life, comprised two second, later appearing clusters.

Other data indicate that group 1 is more of a homogeneous group than group 2. All group 1 respondents are clustered earlier than group 2 respondents. Furthermore, different epistemological categories have the most salience for the two groups. For group 2, the first cluster dimension relates to Personal Control. For group 1, the first clusters have a balanced focus on both Time and Relational dimensions. Value priorities for group 2 stress having influence over others in the use of others as resources. Value priorities for group 1 respondents stress equally a futuristic view of life and the use of others as significant resources.

Discussion

The relationship between expressed cultural and personal values and social mobility through the use of educational institutions has been explained differently by theorists who propose assimilationist and modernization perspectives. This study explored the two alternatives in a sample of black women from lower socioeconomic status communities who, generally, have experienced both class/racial restrictions on their efforts to improve their lives. The assimilationist perspective would suggest that, as a group, such women do not share the same preferences of other societal members as to the use of existing social institutions and resources, and the management of personal and family life styles, including childrearing strategies. Conversely, the modernization perspective suggests that differences within such a group of women can be found according to how they differentially participate in even the minimal community options available. Two groups of black women were studied to further explore these alternative perspectives.

The first group of women was currently enrolled in a high school equiva-

lency program at a Chicago community junior college. The second group was enrolled in an early intervention program for mothers of young children, ages 18-24 months. Participants had been selected from three different Chicago Housing Authority projects through a stratified random sampling procedure.

Using the Expressed Values scale developed for this study, we found that women from these communities who attended a community college program to obtain a high school equivalency degree were as progressive in their personal preferences as they perceived any other Americans to be. They also perceived their friends, neighbors, and members of the Black community, in general, to be more traditional in value preferences than themselves. By comparison, women who primarily cared for children at home and did not attend any formal educational program perceived their personal choices to be in greater harmony with those of friends and neighbors, as well as Blacks in general. They believed the personal choices of other Americans would differ from those of their immediate friends and associates.

Personal value priorities also differed for the two groups of women. One group did not simply perceive more social distance relative to other broader reference groups than another; rather, cluster analyses revealed that the configurational patterns differed for the two groups. In dimensional terms (Kluckhohn, 1961), the high school equivalency group emphasized a futuristic view of life and the use of others as significant resources: items which related to preferred life styles, women's role, and job considerations were especially salient for this group. Generally, there was less interindividual variability within this group, as far as expressed personal

preferences, than in the early intervention group.

It is possible that the two groups differ in other ways aside from immediate exposure to formal education and maintenance of a regular, though unskilled, job. We found no evidence that groups differed in average exposure to children, and our pilot study suggested that length of residence in Chicago per se, was not related to personal preferences.

It is also possible that differences in administration procedure (i.e. group versus individual) account for observed differences. However, it is difficult to envision how these procedures would have so consistently biased our results in directions which make "intuitive" sense, given the overt behavioral life styles of the women. Rather, it seems our results offer strong support for a situational-environmental/person interactive model for the assessment of values. Specifically, being lower status black urban female does not tell all. Rather, one must study the context in which value formulation and expression occurs. Our data do not indicate how context and personal values reciprocally affect each other, but they do indicate that context is very importantly related to expressed values.

Lower socioeconomic status women, particularly minority women, are often described as if they are a homogeneous group. Personal preferences and choices rarely enter into discussions of how they organize and sustain their families or rear their children. As is the case for women generally, investigation of their values, beliefs, and attitudes rarely extend beyond study of childrearing goals and attitudes. This is unfortunate because women do not rear children in social vacuums. How they perceive and participate in surrounding social institutions will inevitably influence their

perspectives on their own families and children. The woman whose major concern is to establish order and predictability in her social contacts is very different from the woman whose concern is to generate new and more effective social resources for herself. Both women may share aspirations for a better life. However, it would not be surprising if the first woman more often emphasized obedience from children, while the second more often appeared flexible and open in her responses to her children's behaviors. We need more research into, and consideration of, the phenomenology of womenhood as it pertains to parenting goals and attitudes. Ideally, personal values would be inductively derived from content analyses of life history data, rather than through the forced-choice strategy we developed here for pragmatic reasons (i.e. limitations on time and funds).

Such data could serve many purposes, including a study of value change in communities. Even with the present instrument, preliminary study is possible. For example, one researcher (Getzels, Note 1) has suggested to us that a future way to assess value change might be to ask each woman to give her view, that of significant women in her family of origin, and that of the woman she aspires to be. Probes could be used as when we asked group 1 respondents to offer reasons for their personal choices. While this is a viable way to assess perceived changes in expressed values, theoretically the configuration of values for each of these referent groups could also differ markedly.

Our data support theoretical notions of a wide value stretch (Rodman, 1963) in the black lower classes. We also see the importance of perceptions of the feminine role, family life, and occupational expectations in that stretch. Finally, the notion of traditionalism as a viable, but multi-

dimensional, construct for characterization of differing value orientations is suggested.

At the beginning of this paper, we observed that few empirical studies of the expressed values of women, and particularly black women, had been conducted. Clearly, the attribution of specific values to women, in the absence of such data, is unscientific. Our exploratory research has demonstrated the importance of contextual or ecological factors in the structure and content of lower socioeconomic status urban black women's expressed values. In the future, perhaps women will increasingly define their own value priorities. Under such circumstances, a firmer foundation for the study of childhood socialization, particularly maternal attitudes and beliefs associated with childrearing, will be established. Specifically, these attitudes and beliefs will not be considered independent of the social context in which the women, as persons, participate.

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Footnotes

Copies of the Expressed Values Scale may be obtained from the first author at: School of Education, Northwestern University, 2003 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Ill. 60201. The research reported was sponsored by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Project Number 5 R01 HD08533.

¹We are grateful to Mr. Edward Haertel and Mr. Frank Druss for assistance in data processing. The cluster analyses were run using the BMDP3M Block Clustering Program at the computational center of the University of Chicago. This procedure is especially appropriate for data matrices which are in a "0-1" format. The purpose of the block clustering procedure is to examine, by subject and item, the individual data points and group them. The procedure gives a rank ordering of similarities by item according to a distance function on the points in the data matrix. The greater the number of clusters, the less likely it is that the instrument measures a unidimensional construct.

The procedure involves a series of passes through the data to establish groupings of persons and items. In a good cluster analysis, less than ten percent of the data matrix values will be shown as exceptions in the block diagram output; a diagram with fifty percent or more of the codes shown as exceptions is mediocre. The number of iterations, or passes over the data, should not exceed twice the number of variables. We permitted the program to run for a full twenty-four passes.

²Figure 1 is a reproduction of the "tree giving joining sequence" output of the program; the number of passes is indicated just above each pair of connecting lines.

These numbers indicate the iteration or pass at which the items were joined; the higher the number, the weaker the cluster. Unconnected items were joined in the largest triangle in which they are enclosed. Item 12, for both groups, joined only at 24 passes.

Group 1 had a block diagram with 16 percent of the codes printed, while group 2 had 37 percent printed. Group 1 clustered all but one item by 12 passes, while group 2 took 18 passes to do so. In the group 1 data, one cluster of seven items, plus an additional item pair had emerged by the tenth pass, while at ten passes in group 2, three groups of two to three items each were most salient. Finally, the order of the items differs.

Table 1
Comparative Background Data on Groups 1 and 2

		<u>Group 1</u> ^a	<u>Group 2</u>
Age	<u>M</u>	22.8	25.3
(years)	<u>SD</u>	5.910	7.666
	<u>R</u>	16-40	16-49
	(<u>n</u>)	(46)	(65)
Education	<u>M</u>	10.96	10.68
(years)	<u>SD</u>	1.042	1.647
	<u>R</u>	9-14	8-14
	(<u>n</u>)	(46)	(65)
Occupation	<u>M</u>	3.72	1.08
Status	<u>SD</u>	1.882	0.625
	<u>R</u>	1-9	1-6
	(<u>n</u>)	(46)	(64)

^aSome Group 1 participants did not wish to give this information; we respected their wishes.

Table 2

Dimensional Definitions and Hypothesized Range of Variation

	<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Modern</u>
1. <u>Activity</u>	<u>Being vs.</u> Represents passive acceptance of how the individual perceives herself in the social milieu. The view that one's traits and characteristics are already formed, and one's role is the living out of a predetermined path.	<u>Becoming</u> Implies the belief that one can change one's character and make oneself more integrated and a more competent whole. One's role in life is the instrumental pursuit of that view of self
2. <u>Man-Nature</u>	<u>Total Subjugation or Total Control vs.</u> The individual is characterized by the belief that she is either completely in control of, or subjugated by, nature.	<u>Partial Control</u> The individual recognizes those instances in which it is and is not possible to completely control or subjugate oneself to nature.

3. Human Nature

Good or Evil vs.

The individual perceives people as all good or all bad.

Mixture of Good and Evil

The individual perceives the complexity of human nature, appears sensitive to people as individuals.

4. Time

Present to Past vs.

The individual perceives present events in terms of the past, looks to the past for ultimate guidelines and directions.

Present to Future

The individual views life in the present from a developmental perspective, looks to the future with reference to guidelines and directions.

5. Relational

Individualism vs.

The individual believes that the person is alone, isolated, and must cope with the world without support.

Collaterality

The individual believes that one can rely upon others as a source of support and, more importantly, identifies her own struggles with these others.

6. Personal Control

No Control or Influence Over Others vs.

Some Control or Influence Over Others

The individual perceives herself not to be influential with significant others.

The individual perceives that she can usually influence significant others.

Table 3
Interitem Point Biserial Correlations with
Total Value Scale Self Score

<u>Item</u>	<u>Group 1</u> (<u>n</u> =67)	<u>Group 2</u> (<u>n</u> =65)
1	.22*	.42**
2	.45**	.41**
3	.44**	.02
4	.55**	.29**
5	.24**	.36**
6	.31**	.30**
7	.43**	.13
8	.37**	.07
9	.22*	.25**
10	.20*	.06
11	.48**	.07
12	.37**	.34**

* $p < .10$.

** $p < .05$.

Table 4
Categorical Expressed Value Scores for
Groups 1 and 2 by Probes ^a

		<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>
		(<u>n</u> =67)	(<u>n</u> =65)
Black Americans	<u>M</u>	7.254	6.800
	<u>SD</u>	2.055	1.922
	<u>R</u>	2-11	3-11
Other Americans	<u>M</u>	4.627	4.677
	<u>SD</u>	2.228	1.786
	<u>R</u>	0-9	1-9
Neighbors	<u>M</u>	6.119	6.415
	<u>SD</u>	2.319	1.550
	<u>R</u>	0-11	3-10
Friends	<u>M</u>	5.761	6.123
	<u>SD</u>	2.016	1.635
	<u>R</u>	2-12	3-10
Self	<u>M</u>	3.776*	5.185
	<u>SD</u>	1.999	1.391
	<u>R</u>	0-8	3-9

^a Scores could range from 12 (High Traditionalism) to 0.

*t (130)=2.715, p<.01.

Table 5
Effects of Program Group and Housing Site on
Expressed Values Self Score^a

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Main Effects	4	9.851	7.111	0.000
Group	2	10.152	7.329	0.002 ^b
Site	2	5.441	3.928	0.026
Interactions	4	2.028	1.464	0.226
Explained	8	5.939	4.288	0.000
Residual	54	1.385		
Total	62	1.973		

^aThe mean for the Discussion group is 4.26 (SD=1.446, n=19); for the Toy Demonstration group it is 5.23 (SD=0.973, n=22); for the Control group it is 5.91 (SD=1.311, n=23). A total of 64 respondents were included in this analysis.

^bt (40) < .05 between Discussion and Control groups.

Table 6

Group Differences in Expressed Value Scale Self Choices

<u>Item</u>	<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Thematic Content</u>	<u>Group 1^a</u> (%Trad.)	<u>Group 2</u> (%Trad.)	<u>x²</u>
1	Personal Control	Cause of Job Success: 'Who you know' vs 'Merit'	18.0	43.1	14.90**
2	Human Nature	Cause of Childhood Fighting: 'Human nature' vs 'Social frustration'	30.0	47.7	6.81**
3	Relational	Perception of Group Identification: 'Alone against world' vs 'With others against world'	30.0	58.5	15.91**
4	Relational	Responsibility of Siblings: 'To family members' vs 'To family and other external insititutions'	41.0	63.1	9.70**
5	Time	Preferred Ways of Living: 'Past' vs 'Contemporary and future orientation'	3.0	27.7	24.55**

<u>Item</u>	<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Thematic Content</u>	<u>Group 1</u> (%Trad.)	<u>Group 2</u> (%Trad.)	<u>x²</u>
6	Relational	Religion in Family Life: 'Religiosity' vs 'Secular moral code'	9.0	33.8	18.87**
7	Personal Control	Sources of Marital Counsel: 'Informal, primary asso- ciations' vs 'Formal groups'	42.0	60.0	6.48*
8	Personal Control	Cause of Unemployment: 'Being taken advantaged of' vs 'Having little pride in work'	25.0	32.3	1.21
9	Man-Nature	Preferred Health Care: 'Non-professional or self-directed help' vs 'Professional or other- directed help'	14.0	26.2	4.50*
10	Activity	Criteria for Personal Job Choice: 'Security' vs 'New challenges'	8.0	21.5	7.69**

<u>Item</u>	<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Thematic Content</u>	<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>χ^2</u>
11	Relational	Preferred Family Decision-Making Style: 'Single decision-makers' vs 'Multiple decision makers'	13.0	43.1	22.32**
12	Activity	View of Feminine Role: 'Adaptation to socially-appropriate goals' vs 'Selection of intrinsically valued roles'	26.0	58.5	21.02**

^a $\bar{n}$ =67 for Group 1, 65 for Group 2

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Item Analyses with Block Clustering Program²

